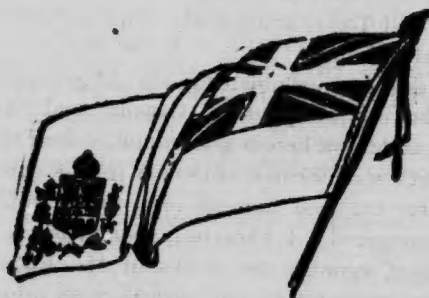


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CANADA'S PAST *and* PRESENT RELATIONS *with* GREAT BRITAIN



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PREFACE

The Reader will observe that this paper is neither a treatise nor a Collection of Essays, but an attempt to give to "Younger Canada" a few facts in connection with the evolution of the Government of Canada from Colonial Days, and raise the question of what our future Status will be in the Empire.

The Author desires to acknowledge his obligations to John S. Ewart K.C., Ottawa, author of "Kingdom of Canada" and "Kingdom Papers," for many of the quotations herein given, and is free to admit using not a few of Mr. Ewart's well formed sentences in this paper, and to extend to him gratitude for the vast fund of information relative to Canadian History therein contained. I cheerfully commend to every Canadian who has any love of country the works of Mr. Ewart, which contain more Canadian History in condensed form than all other publications.

Vancouver, December, 1913.

Canada's Past and Present Relations with Great Britain

It is with a feeling of diffidence that I approach the subject of Canada's relation, past and present, with Great Britain, because it is of such magnitude, and covers such a long period, full of interest, vital to Canada as well as to her Sister States, in the evolution from Colonial Days to our present status, that of a self-governing or autonomous State. In preparing this paper, my only thought was to give to the present generation of Canadians, and the Canadians that have become such by adoption, a few historical facts to enable them to more fully appreciate the position we have attained, and in a slight measure the constitutional struggle of our fore-fathers to throw off the Colonial yoke, and to assert their rights as British subjects.

As Canadians, whether native born, or by adoption, or by naturalization, we ought to know something of the history of our country and its present status in conjunction with the other self-governing Dominions, forming as these Dominions do, independent States, with one King, who we all join in and are privileged to acknowledge as our Gracious Sovereign.

In speaking of the self-governing Dominions as "Independent States," I do not want to be misunderstood, nor do I wish to create a thought in any mind that I wish to convey that Canada is independent in the sense of a separate power, nor do true patriotic Canadians wish it to be a separate power, but I do, and many do, and I think that it will be acknowledged that we are an independent self-governing State, therefore independent in all but name.

Before proceeding, let me state that I shall do all in my power to further the true Imperial Spirit, so much talked of at this time, but in doing so, I must frankly state that my duty, as I see it, is to do nothing that will in any way obstruct Canada's upward progress toward Nationalism, and all that that implies, a Nation with her Sister Nations and Great Britain, forming one combination of Nations, each and all working in perfect harmony in all things, and for the general uplifting of the peoples of the Earth.

"The people of Canada of late have been learning to speak of Canada as a Nation. We feel that we have outgrown childhood and are now big enough and intelligent enough, to manage our own affairs. Moreover, we do manage our own affairs without interference." And I submit to you that every Canadian, who admits or asserts with pride that Canada is a Nation, is or ought to be a Canadian Nationalist.

COLONIAL DAYS

I venture to state that no true Canadian would consent for a moment to revert back to the days of 1837, when the Parliament Buildings at Montreal were burned and when our people were in rebellion, because of the conditions that existed in Upper and Lower Canada, at and prior to that time. Some of the causes that led to the rebellion were :

1.—The vicious composition of the Legislative Council of which the Judges of the Court of Appeal were members.

2.—Participation by the appointed Legislative Councillors in Popular Elections.

3.—The hostility of the Legislative Council toward the Elected Assembly.

4.—The accumulation of Public Offices in the hands of certain favorites of the Administration, which became so notorious as to be styled the "Family Compact."

5.—Distribution of Public Lands among friends of the Government, to the detriment of colonization.

6.—The too frequent disallowance of bills passed by the Assembly.

7.—We demanded the right to be allowed to trade with other people besides Britain, to be allowed to admit to our ports ships from other shores, as well as British Ships, to be allowed to have a voice in the Government of our Country, to be allowed to state what our civil servants should be paid, to be allowed to establish our own school laws, to be allowed to do anything that a self-respecting, intelligent and high spirited people wanted to do toward regulating and conducting its own affairs.

Similar conditions existed in the Colony of Nova Scotia. The Editor of the "Nova Scotian," Joseph Howe, charged the heads of departments with corruption, he was sued for libel. He could not get a lawyer to defend him; he defended his own case and won; he charged the Executive Council with the conduct of business behind closed doors and the Council replied that "His Majesty's Government denied the right of the House to comment upon its mode of procedure, whether their deliberations were open or secret was their concern only."

Another great grievance was the Clergy Reserves, which Lord Sydenham characterized as the heart of all trouble in the Provinces, the cause of the Rebellion, the never failing watchword of the Hustings, the perpetual source of discord, strife and hatred.

Another grievance was the right to take over our Postal Regulations, which evidently were operated for profit, the Postal rate up to 1851 being on an average of 18c per half ounce.

It was not until Lord Durham was sent out in 1837, to inquire into the troubles existing, and to report to the Home Secretary a remedy, did we obtain any semblance of self-government, that time marked the period of the breaking of the first link of the chain called "Colonial," the last link in that chain was broken in 1912, in the Copyright Act.

SELF-GOVERNING POWERS

"As a matter of law, we cannot say that we possess absolute self-governing powers. Nominally, the British Parliament could cancel our

Constitution and abolish all our Parliaments; such authority is, however, purely nominal. The King has a theoretic right to veto all bills passed by the British Parliament, a right that practically does not exist. Our constitution, the "British North America Act," being an English Statute, we cannot amend. Amendments, however, are made at our request, as and when required, according as we desire. Practically we have absolute control."

Canada's power of self government is absolute, complete and indisputable. No one imagines that she can in any way be interfered with.

Let us look at the different heads under which we have independent powers :

- 1.—The right to Finance, or Fiscally.
- 2.—The right to make Laws, or Legislatively.
- 3.—The right to elect our Rulers, or Executively.
- 4.—The right to appoint our Judges, or Judicially.
- 5.—The right to make Treaties with all or any countries commercially.

OUR FISCAL POWERS

We were not always in the independent position we are in today, until 1859, we did not enjoy the power to make our own tariff, the Home Government, in a Fatherly way, saw to it that our tariff laws were framed in the interests of British Trade. Our tariff was a British creation from which other nations were excluded. We had but one market for our raw material, our purchases came from Great Britain. No ships entered our ports but British Ships.

The advent of free trade in Great Britain ended all this, and we commenced to regulate our own affairs, Canada's first act was the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, which remained in force until 1866, when the United States abrogated it, not because it was not beneficial, but on account of the "Alabama affair," which cost England some \$15,500,000 in damages paid to the United States. Our next act was the National Policy of Sir John A. MacDonald's government in 1879, under which, English goods were taxed the same as other goods, entering our ports, and that right of taxation is now absolute and conceded so to be.

OUR LEGISLATIVE POWERS

In former times our statutes were freely disallowed by the Colonial Office.

Mr. Keith (an official of the Colonial Office) in his book, "Responsible Government in the Dominion" (p. 3) says:

"The Control exercised over Colonial Enactments by Downing Street was minute and irritating, its extent may be judged that in the years from 1836 to 1864, no fewer than 341 Bills were reserved under the Royal Instructions in the North American Colonies alone, and forty-seven of these Bills, for one reason or another, never received the Royal Assent."

Interference, however, gradually becomes less frequent, but it was not until 1912, did we obtain that full measure of Autonomy that we now enjoy. The Copyright of our Books was refused us by the United States, unless we set our type in American printing offices. We wished

to retaliate, the Colonial Office would not permit us to do so. American books were made in the United States, and copyright obtained in Canada by filing two copies of the book in Stationers Hall, London, that was an unfair Act on the part of the Home Office, and was protested against in 1888 by Sir John Thompson, Premier of Canada, and continuously since, and the veto was at last removed by obtaining the assent of the Colonial Office to our Copyright Act in 1912.

The most irritating piece of interference with Canadian Legislation was in connection with this question of Copyright. The trouble started in 1843, and continued right down to 1912. The effect of the law as stated by Mr. Justice Moss in the Suit of *Smiles vs Belford*, was "To enable British Authorities to give American Publishers Canadian Copyright."

OUR EXECUTIVE POWER

In the early days, the Governors of Canada were the Executive Agents of the Home Government, the Governor appointed his advisors, our Civil Service contained men in pay, who hired deputies to perform their duties, we could not fix the remuneration of such servants, these and the grievances aforementioned led to the rebellion of '37. The Home Government acted on the report of Lord Durham and gave to the Colony a limited measure of self-government which from time to time has been extended, so that now, our Prime Minister is the head of a self-governing Nation, and who stands in the same relation to our King, as the Prime Minister of Great Britain stands to the King.

Lord Minto was the last Governor who claimed any individual power and in exercise of that power, attempted to interfere with Canadian Military arrangements, which led to the recall of General Hutton.

OUR JUDICIAL POWER

Canada has and exercises the power to appoint all Judges of our Courts in the Dominion. It is true that Canada as yet permits an appeal to the Privy Council, many a learned man questions the wisdom of this procedure. It is claimed that the Judges of that August Body are not as capable, nor are they expected to be as capable, to deal with local affairs of Canada as our own Judges, and I am frank to state that I quite agree with that view, but it is within our Power to abolish that privilege by having our Constitution amended.

The exports and imports in 1912 amounted to one thousand millions of dollars, we operate some twenty thousand miles of railroad, and all that that implies, yet we have no power to settle our own lawsuits. We make the laws governing all the machinery that goes to make a Nation, yet we leave to others the right to say what those laws are. We ought to know.

OUR POWER TO MAKE TREATIES

"It has long been the desire of the Canadian People that we should be entrusted with the negotiations of our own treaties, especially in regard to commerce. This looked-for reform has come to be a living reality. Without revolution, without any breaking of the old traditions, without any impairment of our allegiance, the time has come when Canadian interests are entrusted to Canadians."

The Foreign Office, on the 28th June, 1895, referring to Sir Charles Tupper's fight of 1884, in connection with our treaty with Spain, said :

"To give the Colonies the power of negotiating treaties for themselves without reference to Her Majesty's Government, would be to give them an international status as separate and sovereign states, and would be equivalent to breaking up the Empire into a number of Independent States," that "the negotiation must be conducted by Her Majesty's representative at the Court of the Foreign Power, who would keep her Majesty's Government informed of the progress of the discussions and seek instructions from them as necessity arose."

In 1907, when we were about to negotiate a Treaty with France, Sir Edward Grey wrote the Ambassador at Paris, as follows :

"I do not, however, think it necessary to adhere in the present case to the strict letter of this regulation, the object of which was to secure that negotiation should not be entered into, and carried through, by a colony unknown to and independently of His Majesty's Government. The selection of the negotiator is principally a matter of convenience, and in the present circumstances it will obviously be left to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and to the Canadian Minister of Finance who will doubtless keep you informed of their progress."

The great advance in 1907, from the position won for us by Sir Charles Tupper was referred to by Mr. Balfour in the British House of Commons on the 21st day of July, 1910. He quoted the dispatch of 1895, and added :

"That was the Radical Policy in 1895. It was not the Radical Policy and in my opinion it was rightly not the radical Policy in 1907, 12 years later. The Dominion of Canada, technically I suppose, it may be said, carried on their negotiations with the knowledge of His Majesty's representative, but it was a purely technical knowledge. I do not believe that His Majesty's Government was ever consulted at a single stage of those negotiations. I do not believe they ever informed themselves or offered any opinion as to what was the best policy for Canada under the circumstances. I think they were well advised. But how great is the change and how inevitable. It is a matter of common knowledge, and may I add, not a matter of regret, but a matter of pride or rejoicing, that the Great Dominions beyond the Seas are becoming great nations in themselves. Integral parts they are, of the British Empire, but nevertheless, claiming and rightly claiming to have reached the adult stage in the process of social growth."

You will therefore see that Canada has gained a great concession and is now free to conduct any treaty with any Country appertaining to her own affairs.

We have an Act, creating a Department of External Affairs, being 8 and 9 Ed. VII, C. 13, and the following section expressly refers to foreign countries :

"The Secretary of State . . . shall have the conduct of all official communications between the government of Canada and the government of any other country in connection with the external affairs of Canada, and shall be charged with such other duties as may, from time to time, be assigned to the department by order of the Governor in Council, in relation to such intercolonial negotiations so far as they may appertain to the Government of Canada."

Canada is a Constitutional Monarchy, neither the Colonial Office nor the King himself (and I say it with all respect) has any right to impose his will upon us.

As Sir Wilfred Laurier said :

"We are under the suzerainty of the King of England, and we bow the knee to him, but the King of England has no more rights over us than are allowed him by our Canadian Parliament. This is the view of our relations to the Throne held by all true loyal British Subjects."

And Mr. Borden, our Prime Minister, said on the 24th of September, 1909 :

"While recognizing our duty to the Empire, we respectfully maintain, that Canada in all essential details, must be accorded freedom as free and unfettered as that exercised by any other portion of the Empire, even by Great Britain herself."

In very truth, Canada is not only independent and self-governing, but that nobody wishes it otherwise.

BRITISH VIEWPOINT

Let me give you some authority upon this point, by quoting the *Standard of Empire* (4th June, 1909).

"Leaving theory and legal figments alone, an Oversea State of the British Empire is an autonomous Nation, of its own internal affairs its people are masters, precisely in the same sense, as the people of Great Britain in regard to their own affairs. The King is King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Dominions beyond the Sea. That is to say, in Australia he is King of Australia, and in Canada he is King of Canada. In each of these Dominions he acts by and with the advice of His Privy Council, that is, the Privy Council of each State."

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, speaking in the House on the 26th of June, 1905, said :

"How are we to bring these separate interests together, these States which have voluntarily accepted one Crown and one Flag, and which in all else, are absolutely independent of one another. The time has gone by when we could treat them with indifference, when we could speak of them as though they were subject to our dictation. They are self-governing Nations. They are Sister-States. They are our equals in everything except population and wealth, and very quickly, you will find they will equal and surprise us in these respects."

Mr. Arthur Balfour has said, April, 1907 :

"We have therefore, a great experiment to carry out, the experiment of retaining in our Empire, communities, which must each be left unhampered, untrammelled, unimpeded, to follow its own laws, and destiny and development."

You will observe that I am quoting high authority, the idea of independence may be new to some of you, at least it is not familiar in Canada. In England, the point is much better understood. Lord Milner, for example, writing in the *Standard of Empire* (23rd May, 1908) said :

"We in this Country have long ceased to think of the great British Dominions beyond the Sea, as subject to the United Kingdom or to

expect, or desire them, to subordinate their own interests to those of the Mother Country. Modern Imperialists cherish a very different ideal. But in the younger communities this is not always recognized. Witness the unprofitable discussion which breaks out from time to time, especially in Canada, over the question of "Loyalty" to the Mother Country. **Rightly regarded, there is just as much, or as little, reason for Great Britain to be loyal to Canada, as for Canada to be loyal to Great Britain.**

"One thing alone is certain. It is only on these lines, on the lines of the greatest individual development of the several states and their coalescence, as fully developed units, into a greater Union, that the Empire can continue to exist at all. The failure of the past attempts at Imperial organization is due to our imperfect grasp of the idea of the wider patriotism. In practice, we are always slipping back to the antiquated conception of the Mother Country as at the centre of a political system, with the younger states revolving around it as satellites. **Against that conception the growing pride and sense of independence of the younger states revolt.**"

Sir Frederick Pollock, one of the leading British Jurists, said:

"Leave the conventions alone and look at the facts and we find that the 'Self-governing' Colonies are, in fact, separate Kingdoms having the same King as the Parent Group, but choosing to abrogate that part of their full autonomy which relates to foreign affairs. The House of Commons could no more venture to pass a bill altering the Australian Marriage Laws or the Canadian Tariff, than the Dominion Parliament could legislate on London Tramways. The sovereignty is a figment. The states of the Empire stand on an equal footing"

CANADIAN STATESMEN

"Who won this great and glorious position?

First, let me mention Louis Joseph Papineau, speaker of the House for twenty years, and William Lyon MacKenzie, who were amongst the foremost in their protest against the Acts and Powers of Sir Francis Bond-Head and Lord Gosford, which culminated in the rebellion of '37.

Lord Durham, who reported that the people of Canada wanted and ought to get responsible government. That a free and independent people, fit to govern themselves, wanted the right to regulate their own affairs.

Next. Robert Baldwin, who forced Lord Sydenham, and with La Fontaine, won a victory over Sir Charles Metcalfe, with respect to the right of Canadians to appoint their own officials.

Next. George Brown, Sir John A. MacDonald, Sir George E. Cartier and Sir A. T. Galt, who in 1859 advised the Colonial Office to take charge of the whole government of Canada if the Tariff Bill with the United States was disallowed.

In 1866, Sir John A. MacDonald in a speech from the Throne proposed that the name "Kingdom of Canada" be adopted, as the name of the confederacy, instead of "Dominion of Canada," but the suggestion was rejected by Lord Derby on the grounds that it would be offensive to the United States.

Next came the grand old statesman, Sir Charles Tupper, to whom we are indebted for various things, leadership in the refusal to subscribe to the British Navy, the institution of a Canadian Flag, the right to negotiate our own commercial treaties.

And next. Edward Blake, who withstood the claim of the Governor General to exercise the prerogative of pardon, and to disallow provincial legislation.

And next. Messrs. Fielding and Brodner, who carried our right to negotiate our own commercial treaties to completion, and Mr. Sydney Fisher, who terminated our legislative disability in connection with copyright.

These men, besides many others, are those who have built up Canada's political independence, and who have **finally reduced Canadian Political connection with the British Empire to allegiance to the same King.** And these men were right. We would not undo one of their acts. We would not give up one of the powers which they secured for us. Let us acknowledge our indebtedness to them. And let us evince our appreciation of what they did by completing their work.

Let our independence then be acknowledged in Canada as it is in England. Let us learn to regard ourselves as a Nation. Let us claim the place and the rank and the respect to which we are entitled. Let us be no longer a "Colony" even in name. "We have the most magnificent and most richly endowed country on the face of the globe. We have eight million of the sanest, the strongest, and the most intelligent people in the world. We are acquiring a just pride in our material position, and our unprecedented progress. And, if we shall only rise to the height of our National Manhood, we shall, I most firmly believe, very soon be a homogenous and United People, well able to hold our own, whether in the peaceful pursuits of industry and commerce, or in the direst engagements of most strenuous war, and whether in defense of our own land, or the land from which most of us have sprung, and which yet (and may it always) retain our sympathies and our affections.

Our present position is an undignified position, the self-respect the sense of Unity, and the cohesion and the solidarity which we have not now would be ours, and the English, the American, the Scotch, the German, the Irish, and the French would become and be Canadian. We want a bond of Union, we want an offensive and defensive treaty or alliance with Great Britain and our Sister States, so that all would know what was about to happen.

In a few years we could make our West Canadian, but unless that Canadian spirit is fostered and proudly fostered, what then?

If we are afraid to declare that we are an "Independent Nation" because of a fear of annexation, ought we not now to prohibit American immigration, to forbid the introduction of all American capital, to change the land laws of all the Provinces so that Americans could not lease or own lands, or timber or minerals? Because these influences are strong ties, stronger perhaps than lower tariff walls."

After listening to the utterances of the great men of England, on our relation to, and status with Great Britain, you will, I think, admit that Canada is a self-governing country, and that it is an independent state, that its King is the King of the Scotch, Irish, and English, that

Canada therefore is a nation, that Canada is free and freedom is Nationality, and we are Canadian Nationalists.

Let me for a moment take you back to the old Colonial days, the days of strife on the part of our forefather patriots, in their endeavor to obtain responsible government, the days when we were penned in like an ostrich having its feathers plucked; what was the attitude of the Home Government when we obtained control of our own affairs? Three years prior to confederation, viz.: 1864, Mr. George Brown, a member of the Coalition Government with Sir John A. MacDonald, went to England to ascertain the attitude of the British Government to the Confederation proposal. Mr. Brown reported under date of 22nd December that he found everybody delighted with the proposals, but he found something more, he reported to Sir John and said:

"I am much concerned to observe, however, and I write it to you, as a thing that must seriously be considered by all men taking a lead hereafter in Canadian public matters, that there is a manifest desire in almost every quarter that, ere long, the British American colonies should shift for themselves, and in some quarters, evident regret that we did not declare at once for independence. I am very sorry to observe this, but it arises, I hope, from fear of invasion of Canada by the United States, and will soon pass away, with the cause that excites it."

Remember, that with the advent of free trade in England, we were permitted to make our first trade treaty, that of 1859, with the United States, and during this period when we were permitted to trade with the world and not wholly with the British merchant, Cobden wrote to Cole on the 20th March, 1865, as follows:—

"It is all very well for our Cockney newspapers to talk of defending Canada at all hazards. It is simply an impossibility. Nor must we forget that the only serious danger of a quarrel between these two neighbors (United States and Canada) arises from the connection of Canada with this country. In my opinion it is for the interests of both, that is the United Kingdom and Canada, that we should, as speedily as possible, sever the political thread by which we are as communities connected. I have felt an interest in this Confederation scheme, because I thought it was a step in the direction of an amicable separation."

In quoting this paragraph in 1903, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said:

"Mr. Cobden did not stand alone in these times. It was not merely the view of the leaders of the free trade movement, but there was a large party in this country who regarded the Colonies as a costly encumbrance, and we gave them self-government, not with the hope that thereby we should draw them closer to us, but with the hope that they would take the reins in their own hands and become separate nations."

I have previously referred to the Alabama award which cost England \$15,500,000 but it might have cost her Canada, judging from the speech of Mr. Charles Sumner, in the United States Senate on the 21st of April, 1869, in which he says:

"If Great Britain would meet us in a friendly spirit and acknowledge her wrong, and cede all her interests in the Canadas in settlement of these claims, we will have perpetual peace with her, but if she does not, we must conquer peace. We cannot afford to have our enemy's base so near us. It is a national necessity that we should have the British possessions."

"On the 7th June following, Sir Edward Thornton, British Ambassador at Washington, called upon Mr. Fish, the United States Secretary of State, to discuss the Alabama matter. At that interview Mr. Fish said to him:

"That our claims were too large to be settled pecuniarily, and sound-ed him about Canada, to which he replied, 'That England did not wish to keep Canada,' but could not part with it, without the consent of the population."

Mr. Fish immediately communicated this fact to Senator Sumner who three days afterwards (11th June) sent on the information to the American Ambassador at London (Mr. Motley). Later in the year, to a renewal of this same proposal, Sir Edward Thornton replied: "Oh, you know we cannot do that. The Canadians find fault with me, for saying so openly as I do, that we are ready to let them go whenever they wish, but they do not desire it." (C. F. Adams. p. 157) in *Lee before Ap-pomst-tox*.

The Alabama claims were settled in 1871. The trouble was not of Canada's seeking. She was not a party to the breach committed with the knowledge of England, but Spencer Walpole in his history of 25 years, Volume 111, page 87, credits the London Times with the following outburst of petulance directed to Canada :

"From this day forth look after your own business. You are big enough, you are strong enough. We are both now in a false position, and the time has arrived when we should be relieved from it. Take up your freedom, your days of apprenticeship are over."

This was the attitude of British Statesmen, and the British Public, toward Canada, during the period in which there was no profit, at a time when the United Kingdom had, by stupid bungling, brought Canada to the very verge of destruction, possibly annihilating, war with the United States.

Enough, I think, has been said to show you that when the monetary interests of the British Trader ceased in Canada, he had very little use for the Country, even as a Colony, and but for the patriotic sentiments of such men as George Brown, Sir Chas. Tupper, and Sir John A. MacDonald and others, Canada might have accepted the dictum, "Cut the bonds and go," at the time of confederation.

But Sirs, what a wonderful change has taken place in the minds of those British Statesmen since the days of 1870.

With the preference granted by Canada to British Imports, British merchants saw a chance to renew their trade in Canada, with the assistance in men and money, Canada gave to the Mother Country, during the Boer War. British people became alive to the fact that the Colony might yet be a good thing to have close relations with, and the war-like spirit that for the past few years has become a questionable menace, the profit that might accrue to the British Ship Builder for ships for the Colonies, or Dominions, might be a good thing, but apart from all this, Canada stood firm, she stood loyal to British Institutions, her sons gave up their lives in her defense, they were and are, proud to bow the knee to the King of England, our King, and look forward to the day when a greater bond of union will exist between, not only Great Britain and Canada, but with Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and

Newfoundland, each with hands joined as one unit, upholding the flag that has braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze.

BRITISH PROTECTION

Much has been said and written about the cost of British Protection of Canada.

It was said on the floor of the House at Ottawa on the 5th of December, 1912 (Hansard, P. 710), "That so far as official estimates available show, Great Britain has expended in naval and military defence of the Provinces of Canada during the 19th Century, no less than \$400,000,000," therefore, I suppose, we ought to be grateful for that protection.

If that is true, let us repay it, but is it true? Let me give you some facts which go far, I submit, to dispel such an illusion. When Canada was penned up by British Legislation, and exploited for the trade benefits flowing therefrom, and not allowed to voice her own opinion or regulate its affairs, any money spent during that period ought not to be a debt or charge against Canada, and that period did not end until about 1854.

In the Foreign and Colonial speeches, P. 242, 1846, Mr. Chamberlain truly said, "The Colonies were regarded not only by us, but by every European Power that possessed them, as possessions, valuable in proportion to the pecuniary advantage which they brought the Mother Country, which, under that order of ideas, was not truly a Mother at all, but appeared rather in the light of a grasping and absentee landlord desiring to take from the tenants the utmost rents he could exact. The Colonies were valued and maintained, because it was thought they would be a source of profit, of direct profit, to the Mother Country."

In the "Commercial Policy of British Colonies," P. 13, Earl Grey, Colonial Secy., 1846-52, is quoted as saying, in that; "In the earliest days of the establishment of British Colonies, it was held that the main advantage to be derived from possessing them, consisted in the trade we could carry on with them, and that to secure this advantage it was necessary to make them conform to the policy of the Mother Country in all that relates to trade. They were accordingly required to submit for its benefit to sever restrictions on their trade with the rest of the world, which were a great obstacle to their individual prosperity."

How many, if any, millions do we owe for protection during that period?

It was during that period, viz.: 1812, that the foolish war was brought on by absurd British assertions; one of the orders in council, which gave offense to the United States was repealed on the very day the Americans declared war, but the British assertion, of a right to stop U. S. vessels on the high seas, and to impress therefrom into the navy, men who were said to be British subjects, was persisted in, and the war proceeded.

Earl Grey, in giving evidence before the select Committee of the House of Commons, 1861, Vol. XIII, P. 253, said in part, "That the war was entirely brought upon Canada, by our most impolitic conduct toward the United States."

Canada's population at that time was about 425,000 against 6,000,000 in the United States. And all the regulars in the country were 4450 men,

1500 of this number were above Montreal, with very little specie in the treasury. Canada naturally looked for substantial assistance from England. Kingsford, in his "History of Canada," at P. 182, summarizes a dispatch from the Colonial Secretary of the 10th August, 1812, as follows :

"That owing to the extended warfare in which Great Britain was engaged, the capability of defending Canada was limited. Should Canada be invaded, it was hoped, that the known valour of the troops would meet the emergency. No hope was given that the requisition for specie would be met. Arms for 10,000 men were being forwarded."

Legislation in upper Canada provided for the issue of Army Bills to the amount of \$6,000,000, of which about \$4,820,000 was used, an act that was applauded by the Lieutenant Governor, who said "**However small a proportion that amount may bear to the requisite expenditure, you have the merit of giving them all you had.**"

How many, if any, millions do we owe, or should we be charged with, on account of this war, wherein many of our brave citizens gave up their lives in defense of Britain.

Again referring to the evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. The Duke of Newcastle as a witness gave evidence as follows :

Q.—"Since 1854, the time when the arrangement of which you spoke was made, it appears, that the force in the North American Colonies has not been in a state of progressive reduction, but rather fluctuating?"

A.—"I have already stated in answer to some questions in the early part of my examination that, that was done without any communication with the Colony, and for Imperial purposes. It was convenient for us to send troops there, they were not required by the Colony, and beyond the towns and villages in which they were placed, which no doubt derived advantages from the commissariat, I do not think that the Colony wished a single man."

Q.—"Do you think it correct to say, that we have consulted our own Imperial convenience in regard to those arrangements? And that if we had not an Indian Mutiny, or a Russian war on hand, it would be more convenient to us to keep a certain portion of our troops in Canada?"

A.—"Frequently that has been the case, and looking at it as a question between the Mother Country and the Colony, it would not be fair to take the figures before you, and to charge the whole of the Military force against the Colony, as if it were sent there for Colonial purposes. The same answer applies to many troops sent to the Cape of Good Hope."

Q.—"Sanitary considerations would in some cases also operate?"

A.—"Frequently; it is **always** the practice, when a white regiment has been for some time in the West Indies, to send it to British North America, or some other healthy climate." So much as to troops in Canada.

The Naval Station at Esquimalt could not, I think, be considered as an expense in the protection of Canada, from what enemy were

we supposed to be guarded? There were no ships of war in the Pacific until the Russo-Japanese war.

But what about the Atlantic? Let me quote more evidence given before the Select Committee, by Rear Admiral Erskine.

Q.—“We are at a certain expense in defending Canada, but supposing Canada were incorporated into the United States, would our expense be increased or diminished in time of war?”

A.—Your expenses must increase, because you must have your territory protected in the event of the Americans committing any aggression upon your trade, which now, there is no apprehension of.”

Mr. Elliott, Assistant Under Secretary for the Colonies, said that Halifax was “One of the most important positions, in a strategic point of view, in North America. Great Britain, with a view to National Objects, thinks proper to keep a large garrison in the province of Nova Scotia.”

“We keep a large force at Halifax because it suits our own imperial purposes. Nova Scotia does not want it and would not pay towards it.” Earl Grey.

Q.—“Do you think there are any Imperial grounds connected with these Colonies, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, which would place them on a different footing to Canada?”

A.—I think that the fortress of Halifax stands upon different grounds from most other North American Colonies. It is rather to be looked at as a place of the same character of Malta, or Gibraltar, of which the possession is of importance, with a view to our general Naval Power, in order to have stations where our fleet in case of any emergency can refit or obtain supplies.”

The Duke of Newcastle.

“Halifax is not kept up for the benefit of Nova Scotia, it is kept for Imperial purposes, it is still more important as a naval station, inasmuch as by its natural capabilities it is certainly one of the finest and in all probability, the finest harbor in the world.

“I look upon Halifax as an Imperial Post, quite as much as I do upon Gibraltar or Malta. Supposing Halifax instead of being a Colony was a rock in the sea, I think that England would consider it worth its while to maintain it as an Imperial Post.”

Q.—“You consider that a fair ground upon which Her Majesty's Colonial subjects might be exempted from any contribution to this Imperial defense to which British taxpayers are liable?”

A.—“I think that Halifax is maintained for Imperial Purposes, and I think that the troops which appear in the return under the head of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, are so far as Nova Scotia is concerned, almost if not quite confined to Halifax and never go beyond the bonds of garrison.”

In the face of this evidence, may I ask : all friendliness, but in all seriousness, how many millions do we owe Britain for protection in the nineteenth century, or do we owe her anything?

Would the hundred thousand United Empire Loyalists who lost their homes south of the line, who came to Canada, being loyal to the Crown, and who suffered hardship and privation, consider we owe anything for protection? “Ought we to be grateful for protection in the surrender

of Canadian Territory to the United States at the close of the War of Independence?

Ought we to be grateful for the loss of that territory which now forms the State of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and part of Minnesota?

Ought we to be grateful for the protection that our North Atlantic Fisheries received?

Ought we to be grateful for the joint treaties of 1783 and 1842, part of the State of Maine forms a wedge between New Brunswick and Quebec?

Ought we to be grateful for Lord Alverstone in the Alaska Boundary award?

Ought we to be grateful for the protection we received in 1886-1887, when fourteen British Columbia sealing schooners and fourteen British flags were unlawfully seized by American cruisers, and the consequent destruction of a lawful industry, the owners of the vessels waiting fourteen years for a settlement?

Ought we to be grateful for the grant, May 13, 1670, by Charles II, to his cousin Prince Rupert and others, of all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts and confines of the seas and bays that lie within the entrance of Hudson's Straits, that are not actually possessed by the subjects of any other Prince or State?"

Canada paid \$1,500,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company for 19-20 of the farm lands, the Company retaining all its Posts and Stations, a large part of Winnipeg and Edmonton, which amount to millions.

Is it to be supposed that Sir Charles Tupper was grateful when speaking in the House of Commons, February 22, 1899, when he said:

"I now come to a very important question, and that is the reluctance on the part of His Majesty's Government to do that with the United States that they would do with any other country in the world. I speak from intimate knowledge and from my personal acquaintance and official association with both the great governing parties in England, because there were many changes of government while I held the position of High Commissioner, and I was necessarily thrown in relation to these matters, into intimate association with both, when I say that from 1868, when I had occasion to deal with an important question relating to Canadian interests with Her Majesty's Government, down to the present hour, I have been struck very forcibly with the unwillingness on the part of Her Majesty's Government to allow any circumstances whatever even to threaten a collision with the United States."

We are grateful, however, that with the apparent want of knowledge of Canada and her resources by British statesmen, and their evident desire to do nothing, at any time, that would offend the United States, and do anything, at Canada's expense, to please that country, we still have what we have, and we owe her a great deal of Christian forgiveness.

"But we owe her more than that. I believe it is something to have had our parentage in the British Isles. The people there are far from perfect, but they have an aggregate of qualities that has given them the leadership of the world.

We are grateful for such of those qualities which we have retained, and we are grateful to our ancestors chiefly for their splendid struggle for self-government, the transforming of a Colony into a Nation whose

sons will be found just as ready and willing to fight for the homeland today as they did in 1812, or in South Africa. And should the supremacy of the seas be challenged, it would be the duty of all the Sister Dominions to close around her and ward off the attack.

CANADA'S FUTURE

At this particular time, when cable despatches show some discussion on the question of Canada as a Kingdom, it is fitting to quote the view expressed by the British Prime Minister at the recent conference:

"We found ourselves, gentlemen, upon freedom and independence, that is the essence of the Imperial connection; freedom of action on the part of the Individual States, freedom in their relations with one another and with the mother country."

The Colonial Secretary said that he concurred "In the Principle laid down by the Prime Minister, that is to say, the freedom and independence of the different governments which are part of the British Empire.

After these speeches let no Canadian be afraid to utter Canadian independence, that is, **independence under the British sovereign**, that is, on a footing of equality with the United Kingdom itself, a Canadian Kingdom.

The natural question at this time is, What is the future of Canada to be? The complex and difficult problem of the Empire is, **How its permanence is to be secured.**

"With Great Britain as trustee for the Indian Empire, and ruler over other more or less vast protectorates and dependencies, whose population is over 360 millions, to the inhabitants of some, the self-governing Dominions would close their doors, how is it possible to create an Imperial Federation, which implies an Imperial Parliament and an Imperial Council, representing the Empire's 60 million white citizens. (This could not be considered a truly representative parliament.) And if representation was based on one member per million, the House would stand 45, United Kingdom; 8, Canadian; 5, Australian; 1, New Zealand; and 1 South African. Would any of the Dominions be as powerful as they are now? I doubt it. Such a Parliament would have more or less authority, at least full and absolute authority touching foreign relations, Imperial issues and possibly trade.

Power over trade and defence carries with it the power to tax. Taxation, whether good or bad, invariably promotes discontent, which would be a factor to destroy its usefulness. Discontent over taxation led to the loss of half the North American continent. Being in the minority, one thing is certain, the Dominions might not be able to impress English members that there are certain points of vital interest to some of the Dominions which have not as yet been definitely accepted as equally essential to the foreign policy of Britain."

I am at one with Sir Joseph Ward in speaking for Australia, at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, 11th March, 1913, when he said that:

"I recognize the impossibility of any of the Overseas Dominions ever returning to the old tradition of being under one central authority here (London) so far as their respective work is concerned. It is impossible to conceive any man who has any knowledge of the Overseas

Dominions, urging that the Autonomy these countries possess should be weakened in the slightest degree.

"Here let me say there is not one of the Overseas Countries that should ever have pressure brought to bear on it to supply men, money or ships. It is idle to suppose that the people of Australia will not have their own will, and do that which they believe right and best, for themselves, and that the people of South Africa, Canada and New Zealand will do the same. And if there were any attempt to interfere with the undeniable right to have to govern themselves in the matter of defence, as well as in other important matters, by any pressure or interference, they would quickly resent it."

Judging from the remarks of Sir Joseph Ward, used in endorsing similar expressed sentiments of the Right Hon. Sir George Reid, High Commissioner for Australia, in a speech at the same meeting, and from the reported expressions of opinion of the Dominion Ministers at the last Conference, it would appear that the time has not arrived when Imperial Federation will be seriously entertained.

"Imperialism is a great and significant force, what part are we prepared to play in it? Are we to tax ourselves for and participate in all the wars brought on without our knowledge or without any effective voice in the policy which may lead to war? Are we to be always ready, to send our sons anywhere, to fight anybody and for any reason? Would we be content to fight France as against Japan? Why? Are we not bound up in the Anglo-Japaneses treaty, and some dozen of other Anglo-European treaties? Inasmuch as we are a part of the Empire, we must defend ourselves, at least, if attacked by any Power with which Britain is at war, but are we justified in devoting our resources in men and money to every war? The principal items in the Budget of all European Countries is for the Army and Navy. The principal item in Canada's Budget is Public Works for the development of the Country, this is the task Canada has set for herself, with her 3800 miles of boundary line, East to West, without a gun or a fortress, and with a hundred years of peace with her neighbors."

While I do not complain of our present position or wish for a change, I feel free to raise the question, Can such a subordinate state continue, and for how long? Canada must some day rise to the dignity of full manhood and either by herself or in co-partnership with another have and exercise the highest powers of government, if we are to reap the benefit of self-government of which Lord Durham was the pioneer.

Again I ask, what is Canada's Future to be?

Is it not inevitable that she must adopt one of the following.

- 1.—Imperial Federation, with all that that implies.
- 2.—A Republic.
- 3.—An independent kingdom with a Canadian King.
- 4.—An independent kingdom with the same King as the United Kingdom.
- 5.—Remain as we are with extended powers, and enter into a co-

partnership with her Sister Dominions and the United Kingdom in matters of defence.

We could, I submit, dismiss without further discussion the first proposition, Imperial Federation. And also dismiss the 2nd and 3rd as undesirable. Without any discussion as to the 4th suggested destiny, we could probably embrace the 5th, remain as we are, seek extended power and in the meantime increase the practical Imperialism, already practised in Canada, by placing on the free list, if necessary, goods imported from Britain and if I might be permitted to suggest that Britain could reciprocate, not by giving us a preference in her markets, but by encouraging British capital to be invested in the British Dominions, by remitting the income tax on all income derived from the investment of money in British territory, thereby fostering and promoting the development of the Dominions which are an ever increasing power to the Empire.

What part is Canada going to take in the matter of defence?

If she is going to do anything, is it not about time that some definite policy was adopted. Let that policy be the policy adopted by Australia and New Zealand. And commence if necessary by ordering forthwith two Super Dreadnoughts with the much discussed thirty-five million dollars, and at the same time offer a bonus of five millions (or such sum as may be necessary) for British firms to establish first-class ship building plants on the Atlantic and Pacific; assure such firms that on completion of the plants an order would be given for a complete fleet unit for each coast, which, with the two premier ships would be at least a start toward defending the outposts of Empire and in a practical way assisting to maintain supremacy, thus relieving the Mother Country and enabling her to concentrate her full energy in home waters.

In a few short years Canada would have a fleet on each Coast, a new body of artisans domiciled in our midst, and naturally the establishing of other new industries necessary in ship building, giving employment to our people and thereby fostering a National Canadian patriotism essential to the life of the nation and as a co-partner in the Empire.

As the Marquis of Lorne said on leaving Canada, "You are not the subjects, but the allies of a great Country, the Country that gave you birth."

I agree with Lord Grey, when he said:

"The British Empire was the most potent instrument ever conceived by man for diffusing the blessing of Law and Order, Freedom and Duty, Service and Mercy, throughout the world."

What is it that gives to England her commanding position? Why is it, that fleets from every Nation, from every quarter of the Globe, come to her Ports? That the products of countless regions are subject to her industry, and that the manufactures which the industry of her people complete, are carried to the farthest corners of the Globe?

What is it that gives to her this privileged position?

It is, that the Flag floats over regions far vaster than her own and that upon the Dominions of her Sovereign, the Sun never sets.

We can, and do, as loyal Canadian Nationalists, sincerely and conscientiously join with Tennyson in patriotic harmony, and say,

"To all the loyal hearts who long
To keep our English Empire whole,
To all our noble Sons, the strong
New England of the Southern Pole;
To England under Indian Skies,
To those dark millions of her realm,
To Canada, whom we love and prize,
Whatever statesmen hold the helm.
Hands all around,
God, the traitors' hope confound,
To this great name of England, drink, my friends,
And all her glorious Empire, round and round."

